

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 EA-10 NEA-11 IO-13 ISO-00 CIAE-00 PM-05
H-01 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 PA-01 SP-02 SS-15
ACDA-12 NSCE-00 SSO-00 ICAE-00 INRE-00 EB-08
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FM AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 2188
INFO AMEMBASSY SEOUL IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY BANGKOK
USMISSION GENEVA
AMCONSUL HONG KONG
CINCPAC HONOLULU HI
AMCONSUL LENINGRAD
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI
AMEMBASSY PARIS
USLO PEKING
AMEMBASSY SINGAPORE
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AMEMBASSY TOKYO
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
DIA WASHDC

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 MOSCOW 11725

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CINCPAC FOR POLAD

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: UR, CH, US, PEPR, PROP
SUBJECT: SOVIET MFA CHINA DESK OFFICER AND SOVIET PRESS
REACTION TO BRZEZINSKI CHINA VISIT

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REF: (A) MOSCOW 11344, (B) MOSCOW 11184 (NOTAL)

SUMMARY: SOVIET MFA CHINA DESK OFFICER INQUIRES ABOUT
BRZEZINSKI VISIT, ATTEMPTS TO STOKES U.S. CONCERN ABOUT
CHINESE MILITARY THREAT TO TAIWAN AND WARNS THAT ARMS
SALES TO CHINA WOULD DAMAGE SOVIET RELATIONS WITH THE
COUNTRY CONCERNED AND HAVE "UNFORESEEN CONSEQUENCES."

TASS ARTICLES PRINTED IN MAY 24 AND 25 PRAVDA CRITICIZE
BRZEZINSKI VISIT. END SUMMARY.

1. EMBOFF DISCUSSED PRC INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL POLICIES
WITH SOVIET MFA CHINA DESK OFFICER KRYUKOV ON MAY 24.
EMBOFF REQUEST FOR APPOINTMENT MADE OVER TWO WEEKS AGO
WAS PUT OFF BY MFA UNTIL MAY 24, PROBABLY TO GIVE
SOVIETS OPPORTUNITY TO USE MEETING FOR READOUT ON
BRZEZINSKI CHINA VISIT. PORTIONS OF CONVERSATION
DEALING WITH BRZEZINSKI VISIT AND SINO-U.S. RELATIONS
ARE REPORTED THIS MESSAGE. KRYUKOV'S COMMENTS ON
SINO-SOVIET RELATIONS AND THE INTERNAL CHINESE POLITICAL
SCENE ARE REPORTED SEPTTEL.

2. BRZEZINSKI VISIT: KRYUKOV TWICE STEERED CONVERSATION
INTO AREA OF BRZEZINSKI VISIT AND SINO-U.S. RELATIONS.
HE PROBED FOR INFORMATION REGARDING VISIT'S OBJECTIVE
(EMBOFF RESPONDED VISIT COINCIDES WITH BOTH SIDES'
POST-SHANGHAI COMMUNIQUE EFFORTS TO HAVE PERIODIC HIGH
LEVEL CONSULTATIONS) AND ON POSSIBLE EVIDENCE OF SINO-
U.S. DIFFERENCES THAT MIGHT HAVE ARISEN IN BRZEZINSKI'S
TALKS. HE NOTED LACK OF A JOINT COMMUNIQUE AND ASKED
IF THE U.S. SIDE HAD PREPARED A DRAFT COMMUNIQUE IN
ANTICIPATION THAT ONE WOULD BE ISSUED AFTER THE TALKS.
(EMBOFF RESPONDED THAT HE HAD SEEN NO INDICATION
THAT EITHER SIDE HAD PREPARED A DRAFT JOINT COMMUNIQUE
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IN ADVANCE OF THE TALKS.)

3. TAIWAN: KRYUKOV DWELLED AT CONSIDERABLE LENGTH
ON CHINESE INTENTIONS TO LIBERATE TAIWAN BY FORCE.
HE RECALLED A 1975 ADDRESS DELIVERED BY CHEN HSI-LIEN
ON THE OCCASION OF ARMY SPORTS DAY, CLAIMING THAT
CHEN'S CALL FOR THE LIBERATION OF TAIWAN BY FORCE
MIDWAY THROUGH HIS SPEECH BROUGHT ENORMOUS APPLAUSE
FROM HIS AUDIENCE THAT FAR OVERSHADOWED THE APPLAUSE
WHICH FOLLOWED THE SPEECH'S CONCLUSION. KRYUKOV
STATED THAT MORE RECENT REFERENCE BY PRC LEADERS TO
THIS THEME INDICATES THAT THE CHINESE MAY ATTEMPT TO
REINCORPORATE TAIWAN BY FORCE EARLIER THAN EXPECTED.
AT THIS POINT A YOUNGER MFA CHINA SPECIALIST SERVING
AS NOTETAKER INTERJECTED THAT THE CHINESE COULD BE
PREPARING TO DO SO NOW. (EMBOFF RESPONDED THAT PUBLIC
STATEMENTS BY PRC LEADERS INDICATE QUITE THE OPPOSITE
AND THERE APPEARS TO BE NO EVIDENCE THAT THE PRC IS
BUILDING UP TO ATTACK TAIWAN.)

4. COMMENT: KRYUKOV'S STATEMENTS COINCIDE WITH
SOVIET EFFORTS TO STOKO CONCERNS OF OTHER (PARTICULARLY

ASIAN) COUNTRIES TO THE SHORT OR LONG TERM CHINESE
"MENACE." IN THIS CASE, WE READ KRYUKOV'S ALLEGATIONS
ABOUT CHINESE ATTACK ON TAIWAN AS A BID TO PLAY ON
AMERICAN CONCERNS OVER FATE OF TAIWAN AND THUS FORESTALL
MOVEMENT TOWARDS OVERCOMING THE MAIN OBSTACLE TO FULL
NORMALIZATION OF RELATIONS BETWEEN THE PRC
AND U.S. A U.S. VISITOR TELLS US OF RECENT REMARK BY
SOVIET DCM IN WASHINGTON, W. VASEV, THAT SOVIETS FAVOR
REUNIFICATION OF TAIWAN BECAUSE THEN PRC COULD CON-
CENTRATE ON IMPROVING RELATIONS WITH THE USSR -
A PATENTLY DISINGENOUS COMMENT OBVIOUSLY DESIGNED TO
BE TAKEN BY AMERICANS AS REASON FOR NOT MOVING TOWARD
"NORMALIZATION". END COMMENT.

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4. KRYUKOV ALSO REPEATED STANDARD SOVIET WARNINGS ABOUT WESTERN ARMS SALES TO CHINA SPECIFICALLY REGISTERING SOVIET CONCERNS ABOUT CHINESE ARMS BUYING MISSIONS TO WESTERN EUROPE. HE SAID THAT THE USSR HAS MADE IT VERY CLEAR TO THE WESTERN PARTIES CONCERNED THAT DECISIONS TO SELL ARMS TO THE PRC WOULD HAVE A VERY NEGATIVE EFFECT ON THEIR RELATIONS WITH THE USSR AND WOULD PRODUCE "UNFORESEEN CONSEQUENCES." EMBOFF NOTED THAT PRC ARMS PURCHASING EFFORTS APPEAR TO BE CONFIDENTIAL

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DIRECTED AT COUNTRIES OTHER THAN THE U.S. AND SUGGESTED THAT KRYUKOV'S REMARKS SHOULD BE BEST DIRECTED AT DIPLOMATS REPRESENTING THESE COUNTRIES. KRYUKOV COUNTERED THAT THE U.S., THROUGH ITS MEMBERSHIP IN NATO AND COCOM PARTICIPATION, PLAYS A ROLE IN DECISIONS MADE BY WESTERN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES TO SELL ARMS TO CHINA.

5. COMMENT: SOVIETS HAVE MADE LITTLE PUBLIC MENTION OF SECRETARY VANCE'S ANNOUNCEMENT ON U.S. RELUCTANCE TO SELL ARMS TO THE PRC/USSR. HOWEVER, IN PRIVATE AND PUBLIC COMMENTARY, SOVIETS HAVE CALLED ATTENTION TO POTENTIAL OF U.S. SALES OF MILITARY TECHNOLOGY TO CHINA AND U.S.-WESTERN EUROPEAN LINKS IN NATO AND COCOM WHICH COULD BE USED TO INFLUENCE EUROPEAN ARMS SALES TO CHINA. WE INTERPRET KRYUKOV'S REMARKS ON WESTERN ARMS SALES -- IN THE CONTEXT OF THE AVALANCHE OF SOVIET PROPAGANDA JUST BEFORE AND DURING THE BRZEZINSKI VISIT WARNING AGAINST WESTERN ARMS SALES OR COLLUSION WITH CHINA'S ANTI-SOVIET FOREIGN POLICY -- AS DIRECTED TOWARD INSURING THAT WASHINGTON CLEARLY PERCEIVES THE LIKELIHOOD OF A STRONG SOVIET REACTION TO WARD LIBERALIZATION OF U.S. (OR OTHERS') POLICIES ON MILITARY-RELATED TRANSFERS TO PEKING IN THE WAKE OF THE BRZEZINSKI VISIT. END COMMENT.

6. BEGIN UNCLASSIFIED. MAY 24-25 SOVIET PRESS COMMENT ON BRZEZINSKI VISIT HAS BEEN LIMITED TO TWO TASS ARTICLES DATELINED WASHINGTON AND TOKYO MIXING EXCERPTS FROM U.S. AND JAPANESE PRESS REPORTS WITH EDITORIALIZING TO CRITICIZE BRZEZINSKI VISIT OBJECTIVES AS "ANTI-SOVIET." WASHINGTON DATELINED REPORT NOTES THAT BRZEZINSKI TALKS, IN THE MAIN, SHOWED THAT THE

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U.S. AND CHINA HOLD SIMILAR VIEWS ON INTERNATIONAL PROBLEMS AND SERVED TO FACILITATE SINO-U.S. "NORMALIZATION" OF RELATIONS. ARTICLE CRITICIZES TENG HSIAO-PING'S RECENT ANTI-SOVIET REMARKS MADE TO UPI EDITORS AND AMBASSADOR MANSFIELD'S TERMING OF CHINA AS AN "EASTERN NATO." IT NOTES TENG'S STATEMENT THAT TAIWAN SOLUTION MUST PRECEDE SINO-U.S. "NORMALIZATION" OF RELATIONS AND CONCLUDES BY HOLDING THAT, "AS IS BELIEVED HERE" (I.E., IN WASHINGTON) TENG'S UPI INTERVIEW "REFLECTS THE GENERAL DIRECTION OF THE NEGOTIATIONS OF THE PRC LEADERSHIP WITH NSC PRESIDENTIAL ASSISTANT BRZEZINSKI."

7. MAY 25 PRAVDA TASS STORY SELECTIVELY REPORTS JAPANESE PRESS ACCOUNTS PLACING BRZEZINSKI VISIT TO CHINA IN CONTEXT OF PURSUING "THE AIM OF ACHIEVING RECOGNITION AND SUPPORT BY THE CHINESE SIDE FOR THIS NEW AMERICAN STRATEGY OF KNOCKING TOGETHER ANTI-SOVIET ALLIANCES AND INCLUDING JAPAN IN THEM." ARTICLE REPORTS EXCERPTS FROM JAPANESE PRESS DESCRIBING U.S. ASIAN STRATEGY AS AIMED AT STRENGTHENING OF THE JAPANESE AIR FORCE AND NAVY, BUILDING UP ROK ARMED FORCES AND EXPANDING U.S. MILITARY PRESENCE "EAST OF THE ASIAN CONTINENT THROUGH STATIONING THERE IN THE FUTURE NEW NUCLEAR POWERED SUBMARINES WITH TRIDENT MISSILES AND STRATEGIC B-52 BOMBERS." ARTICLE ENDS BY CITING "KYODO TSUSHIN" AS REPORTING THAT BRZEZINSKI TALKS ILLUSTRATED "AN ALMOST FULL IDENTITY OF VIEWS ON ALL INTERNATIONAL ISSUES." MATLOCK

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Message Attributes

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